

The Political Economy of Development

POL2408F

Fall 2017

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Office Hrs: Thursday 4-5

Seminar meeting time: Thursday, 2-4

1. OVERVIEW

The aims of this course are three-fold: to investigate the nature and utility of a neo-Polanyian approach to holistic political economy, to understand the limits and possibilities of national development strategies in forging a sustainable, prosperous and democratic future, and to deepen one's knowledge of the political economy of specific countries in the global south. We begin with a couple of sessions devoted to exploring some key concepts in Polanyi's approach and their contemporary relevance. Then we focus on the evolution and performance of the evolving neoliberal policy paradigm that has dominated development thinking since 1980. This thematic discussion is followed by three key cases: Chile, Ghana and India. We seek to understand in what sense and to what degree these three cases constitute instances of neoliberal reform and success.

Many scholars, activists and political leaders have been critical of neoliberal approaches from a leftist perspective. They have advocated or implemented development alternatives in the form of what I categorize as moderate social-democratic, left-populist and radical social-democratic experiments. In the final section, we probe the nature, practicability and desirability of these alternatives within the context of their exemplars (Brazil, Venezuela and Kerala [India] respectively). The discussion of actual cases makes us aware of the shortcomings as well as benefits of each approach, thus helping us to avoid utopian thinking. Throughout, I suggest the heuristic value of Polanyi's holistic political economy in the study of development.

2. ORGANIZATION AND REQUIREMENTS

I am responsible for the first four sessions. There will be plenty of time each week for discussion of the key themes, based on the required readings.

A member of the class will introduce the topic of the remaining 8 seminars with a 45-50 minute presentation (or a 30-35 minute presentation each in jointly-led seminars). Each class member will make one presentation. Please be ready in the week leading up to **September 14th** to email me a list of **two** sessions, beginning with session 5, which you are willing to lead. The schedule of presentations will then be available at the Sept. 14th class.

The **course requirements** are as follows.

- **1 oral presentation** (see guidelines below) 25%

The presentation should be based on the required and several of the supplementary readings from the reading list. This is not a research assignment (unless you want to make it that). I will provide a written evaluation. **Please note that the instructor may cut you off if you exceed the maximum allowable duration.**

- **2 written critical reflections** on the weekly required readings (see guidelines below) 25%

You should prepare two 2-3 single-spaced pages reflecting on the cogency of the argument(s) presented in one or more of the required readings for **two sessions**. Do not select the readings from the session on which you make a presentation. Your reflection papers should be handed in at the

beginning of the relevant class. I will provide a written evaluation. **Please keep a hard copy of each written assignment until the final grade is computed.**

- **participation** in class discussions 10%
Active and informed participation obviously brings a high grade, but even quiet but regular attendance will yield half the grade.

- **1 thematic essay** 40%
Write an essay of about 15-20 double-spaced pages — 4,000 - 5,000 words — on one of the thematic questions listed below. The aim of this paper is to draw together what you have learned in this class on one of the major themes by reflecting on the experience of particular cases. This assignment is due Monday, **December 18** by 4 pm in my office or placed in my mailbox. **Printed** copies only, and please print your essay on both sides of the paper. Late penalty is 2 percentage points per day.

1. Most African and Latin American economies were in dire shape in the early 1980s. Proponents of the Washington and Post-Washington consensus contended that the main problem was an overweening state that was unable to fulfill its goals through extensive economic interventionism. Hence, they argued, what was needed above all else was a reinvigoration of market forces. David Harvey, on the other hand, interprets neoliberalism as essentially a political project to establish or restore the power and privilege of a capitalist elite. How do you resolve this apparent contradiction? Draw on a couple of cases you are familiar with.
2. Karl Polanyi sought to understand capitalist transformation, its consequences and potential alternatives in Europe in the early era (early 1800s to 1940). Yet some scholars believe his ideas and models also help analyze the evolution, problems and possibilities of countries in the Global South during the neoliberal era. Identify three of Polanyi's key concepts/models, and discuss how pertinent each of them is to comprehending processes of change in the Global South since 1980.
3. Both Brazil under the Workers Party administrations and Venezuela under Hugo Chávez achieved major gains for their constituencies. Yet both experiments ultimately foundered. What went wrong, and what lessons might the left draw from their experience?
4. Are leftist regimes, such as those in Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia and Kerala, any better at advancing ecologically sustainable development than neoliberal cases? Compare the record of two countries, one drawn from the four leftist cases just mentioned, and the other a neoliberal case with which you are familiar.
5. "It is generally accepted that markets work poorly in most developing countries. However, while some development economists make a case for the implementation of industrial policy to address market failures, neoliberal economists argue that governments are bad at picking winners and that state-led industrial policy is an invitation to corruption and rent-seeking." What is your view? In your response, draw illustrations from two relevant cases.

Guidelines on Making an Effective Presentation

1. A presentation is an **oral essay**. Therefore, you need to present a **thesis** near the beginning, and organize your material to support and elaborate this thesis. Note, however, that written and oral essays are delivered differently. Merely reading aloud an essay that one wrote to be read is rarely effective. Instead, deliver your presentation from notes, if you feel comfortable doing so. The three hallmarks of a good oral presentation are the following:

- **Organization.** Sufficient signposts guide your listeners through your argument; everyone is always aware of the relevancy of the point you are making. (One experienced speaker summarized his advice this way: "Tell your audience what you are going to say, say it, and then tell them what you said.")
- **Clarity.** Avoid ambiguity and vagueness by adhering to your outlined, clearly connected, points. Avoid jargon. Explain all concepts concisely.
- **Pacing.** Slow down your delivery. Make eye contact. Do you notice puzzled looks or signs of boredom? If so, try to respond to these cues. Clarify the point you are making, or speak more slowly/loudly/with more emphasis.

Consider rehearsing your presentation, perhaps before a sympathetic listener or a recorder. You will discover whether you have too much material to cover in 45-50 minutes.

2. Technical Details.

- Your presentation is not a research exercise. Base your oral essay on the required reading for your session plus several supplementary readings.
- If you are sharing a topic, work out a division of labour with your partner. Each person should speak for 30-35 minutes. In a solo presentation, plan to speak for 45-50 minutes.
- Tell your audience whether you welcome questions as you proceed, or whether you wish your listeners to hold all their questions until the end. Alternatively, you might entertain only questions of clarification (not challenges) while you work through your commentary, saving the latter for the discussion period. (Remember that, if you respond to objections to your argument as you proceed, you may lose the thread of your case.) If you entertain questions and objections during your talk, you will need to extend your presentation beyond the time limits suggested above.
- It is helpful to conclude your presentation with issues or questions you think require further discussion.
- After (or during) your presentation, respond in a reasoned and friendly manner to questions, comments, and challenges to your thesis. Remember you do not need to be right in every element of your case. But you do need to be clear.

Guidelines on Writing the Critical Reflections on Required Readings

1. This assignment involves the submission of a critical reflection on one or more required readings from 2 of the sessions throughout the term, excluding the session on which you deliver a presentation.
2. The critical reflection should be 2-3 pages in length (800 words). The emphasis is on concise, focused thought. You need to identify the author's thesis, and respond critically to that thesis. Is the argument logically sound? Is it supported both by the evidence that the author cites and by further data or knowledge of which you are aware? Does the piece pose an 'important' question in a challenging manner? Is the article/book/excerpt well-organized and clearly written? Does the essay suggest interesting new avenues for thought or research? Some of these questions, and perhaps others, should guide your critical reaction.
3. You will receive a brief, written evaluation of your submissions within two weeks. The evaluation will be based on the following criteria:
 - effectiveness in taking a clear and critical position on issues
 - capacity to synthesize complex ideas
 - familiarity with the material you have selected to review
 - clarity and conciseness of expression.

READINGS FOR THE COURSE

This outline identifies required readings for each topic (*) plus select supplementary readings. You should find the latter useful in preparing your presentation and thematic essay and following up on a subject of particular interest. Obviously, you must read the required readings each week if we are to have a stimulating seminar. The required readings are on reserve in the short-term loan section on the 3rd floor of Robarts Library or are available in electronic journals. **I have selected most readings from electronic journals.**

Your purchase of some of the heavily used books will ease your task of preparing for the seminars. I have asked the bookstore to stock the following:

- D. Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
A. Kohli, Poverty and Plenty in the New India. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
S. Levitsky and K.M. Roberts (eds.), The Resurgence of the Latin American Left. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944].
R. Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left in the Global South: The Politics of the Possible. Cambridge University Press, 2014,

Schedule of Seminars

1. **Overview of the course and discussion of "What Is the Political Economy of Development?"** (Sept. 7)

*D.P. Levine, "Political Economy and the Idea of Development," Review of Political Economy 13:4 (2001), 523-36.

*L. Haddad, "Five Assumptions of Dominant Thinking in International Development." Development 55:1 (2012), 34-44.

*J. Rapley, "How Economics Became a Religion." The Guardian (July 11, 2017).
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/jul/11/how-economics-became-a-religion?htm>

G. Estavo, S. Babones & P. Babczyk. The Future of Development; a Manifesto. Bristol: Policy Press, 2013.
(A manifesto of the post-development school)

L. Haddad et al, "Time to Reimagine Development?" **IDS Bulletin** 42L5 (2011).

R. Kanbur, "Economics, Social Science and Development," World Development, 30:3 (2002), pp. 477-86.

A. Leftwich, "Politics in Command: Development Studies and the Rediscovery of Social Science." New Political Economy, 10:4 (2005), pp. 573-607.

- B.H.Mogens & L. Lauridsen. "The Past, Present and Future of Development Studies." Forum for Development 39:3, 2012, pp. 293-300.
- J. Loxley, "What is Distinctive about International Development Studies?" Canadian Journal of Development Studies 25:1, 2004, pp. 25-38.
- A. Payne & N. Phillips. Development. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010. (excellent on development theory)
- G. Rist. The History of Development, 4th ed. Palgrave Macmillan.
- F. Stilwell, Political Economy: The Contest of Economic Ideas, chaps. 1-4. London: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- M. Staniland, What is Political Economy? New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985, Chapters 1 & 2.
- G. Tsopanakis. "What is Development, and Why Even bother? Narrative Experts and a Quest to End Poverty." Forum for Development Studies (2016).

NOTE: SUBMIT THIS WEEK A LIST OF 2 CHOICES FOR SEMINAR PRESENTATIONS

2. The Holistic Political-Economy of Karl Polanyi (Sept. 14)

The classic critique of economic liberalism and explanation of the socio-political dynamics of the liberal era by reference to the notion of the 'double movement'

- *K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 [1944], "Introduction" by Fred Block, pp. 3-5, & chs. 3-6, 11-13, and 21.
- *R. Kuttner, "Karl Polanyi Explains It All," The American Prospect 25:3 (2014), 70-75. (excellent introduction to both Polanyi's life and his ideas)

The best source to consult on any Polanyian concept: Gareth Dale, Karl Polanyi: The Limits of Markets. Cambridge: Polity, 2010.

- F. Adaman, P. Devine & B. Ozkaynak, "Reinstituting the Economic Process: (Re)embedding the Economy in Society and Nature," International Review of Sociology, 13:2 (2003), 357-74.
- E. Altvater and B. Mahnkopf, "The World Market Unbound," Review of International Political Economy 4:3 (1997), 448-71.
- F. Block and M. Somers, The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014. (See esp. the chapter on "Beyond the Economic Fallacy: The Holistic Social Science of Karl Polanyi.")
- F. Block, "Karl Polanyi and the Writing of *The Great Transformation*," Theory and Society, 32 (2003), 275-306.
- M. Bernard, "Ecology, Political Economy and the Countermovement: Karl Polanyi and the Second Great Transformation," in S. Gill and J. Mittelman, eds., Innovation and Transformation in International Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1997.
- V. Birchfield, "Contesting the Hegemony of Market Ideology: Gramsci's Good Sense and Polanyi's Double Movement," Review of International Political Economy 6:2 (1999), 27-54.
- D.W. Brown, Towards a Radical Democracy: The Political Economy of the Budapest School. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988, chaps. 1-3.
- G. Dale, Reconstructing Karl Polanyi: Excavation and Critique. London: Pluto Press, 2016.
- M. Harvey & A. McMeekin, "Capitalism: Restless and Unbounded? Some Neo-Polanyian and Schumpeterian Reflection." Economics of Innovation and New Technology 22:7 (2013), 666-83.
- S.C. Humphreys, "History, Economics and Anthropology: The Work of Karl Polanyi," History and Theory, 8:2 (1969), pp. 166-212.
- N. Fraser, "Marketization, Social Protection, Emancipation: Towards a Neo-Polanyian Conception of Capitalist Crisis," in C. Calhoun & G. Derlugian, eds, Business as Usual: The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown, pp.135-57. New York University Press, 2011.
- K. Polanyi, The Livelihood of Man, edited by H. W. Pearson. New York: Academic Press, 1997.
- K. Polanyi-Levitt, "Towards Alternatives: Re-reading *The Great Transformation*," Monthly Review 47:2 (1995), 1-15.
- W.C. Schaniel and W.C. Neale, "Karl Polanyi's Forms of Integration and Ways of Mapping," Journal of Economic Issues, 34:1 (2000), 89-104. [EJ]
- D.R. Searey, "Beyond the Self-Regulating market in Market Society: A Critique of Polanyi's Theory of the State,"

Review of Social Economy 51:2 (1993), 217-32.

J.M. Servat *et al.*, La modernité de Karl Polanyi. Paris: Harmattan, 1997.

M. Somers and F. Block, "The Return of Karl Polanyi," Dissent 61:2 (2014), 30-3.

J.R. Stanfield, The Economic Thought of Karl Polanyi. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

3. The Contemporary Relevance of Karl Polanyi to the Study of Development (Sept 21)

The resurgence of interest in Polanyi's work coincided with the emergence of the neoliberal era, especially the world crisis of 2008. Is commodification of 'fictitious commodities' heuristically significant in understanding the challenges of our age, with special reference to the global south? Does the concept of the 'double movement' provide insight into the socio-political dynamics of contemporary capitalism?

*P. Evans, "Pursuing a Great Transformation: National and Global Dynamics," Sociology of Development 1:1 (2015), 3-19.

*E. Silvo, "Exchange Rising? Karl Polanyi and Contentious Politics in Latin America," Latin American Politics and Society 54:3 (2012), 1-32.

*R. Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left in the Global South (Cambridge University Press, 2014), chap. 1.

*J. Wiegratz & E. Cesnulyte, "Money Talks: Moral Economies of Earning and Living in Neoliberal East Africa." New Political Economy 31:1 (2016), 1-25.

M. Amato & L. Fantacci, Saving the Market from Capitalism. Cambridge: Polity, 2014. (Money as a fictitious commodity.)

B. Selwyn & S. Miyamura, "Class Struggle or Embedded Markets? Marx, Polanyi and the Meaning and Possibilities of Social Transformation," New Political Economy 19:5 (2014), 639-61.

D. Brown, "The Polanyi-Stanfield Contribution: Reembedded Globalization," Forum for Social Economy 40 (2011), 63-77.

L. Cotula, "The New Enclosures? Polanyi, International Investment and the Global land Rush," Third World Quarterly 34:9 (2013), 1605-29.

G. Dale, "Double Movements and Pendular Forces: Polanyian Perspectives on the Neoliberal Age," Current Sociology 60:1 (2012), 3-27

S. Corbridge & J. Harris, eds., Understanding India's New Political Economy. London: Routledge, 2011.

A; Ebner, "Transnational Markets and the Polanyi Problem." In Karl Polanyi, Globalization and the Potential of Law in Transnational Markets, eds C. Joerges & J. Falke, 19-40. (Oxford; Hart, 2011).

N. Fraser, "Marketization, Social Protection, Emancipation: Towards a Neo-Polanyian Conception of Capitalist Crisis." In Business as Usual, eds. C. Calhoun & G. Derlugian, (New York University Press, 2011).

R. Hahnel, "The Case against Markets," Journal of Economic Issues 41:4 (2007), 1139-59.

M. Levien, "India's Double Movement: Polanyi and the National Alliance of People's Movements," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 51 (2007), 119-49.

M. Levien & M. Paret, "A Second Double Movement? Polanyi and Shifting Global Opinions on Neoliberalism," International Sociology 27:6 (2012), 724-44.

R.R. Nelson, "On the Complexities and Limits of Market Organization," Review of International Political Economy 10:4 (2003), 697-710.

K. Rankin, The Cultural Politics of Markets: Economic Liberalization and Social Change in Nepal (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

R. Sandbrook, "Polanyi and Post-neoliberalism in the Global South: Dilemmas of Re-embedding the Economy," New Political Economy, 16(4): 415-43 (2011).

M. Somers, "Karl Polanyi in an Age of Uncertainty." Contemporary Sociology 46:4 (2017).

W. Schaniel & W. Neale, "Quasi-Commodities in the First and Third Worlds," Journal of Economic Issues 32:1 (1999), 95-116.

B. Smart, "Another 'Great Transformation' or Common Ruin?" Theory, Culture and Society 28:2 (2011), 131-51.

M.D. Stroup, "Economic Freedom, Democracy and the Quality of Life," World Development 35:1 (2007), 52-66.

P.J. Zack, Moral Markets: The Critical Role of Values in the Economy (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press, 2008).

J. Zhang, "Marketization beyond Neoliberalization: A Neo-Polanyian Perspective on China's Transition to a Market Economy" Environment and Planning 45:7 (2013).

4. Neoliberal development doctrine since 1980: From the Washington to the Post-Washington

Consensus (Sept. 28)

Is neoliberalism best understood as a development paradigm, an institutional arrangement or a class project (in Harvey's terms), or some combination of these three? Is the Post-Washington Consensus actually, as the term suggests, a replacement of the Washington Consensus or is it rather an augmentation of the latter? Are institutions ('second generation reforms') key to economic development and, if so, how does a country get strong institutions? Why did the world economic crisis of 2008-2009 not mark the end of the Post-Washington Consensus?

*D. Harvey, [A Brief History of Neoliberalism](#) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), Intro & chaps. 1-2.

*Sandbrook, [Reinventing the Left](#), chap. 2.

* P. Cammack, "The G20, the Crisis, and the Rise of Global Developmental Liberalism," [Third World Quarterly](#) 33:1 (2012), 1-16.

- M. Andrews, "The Good Governance Agenda: Beyond Indicators without Theory," [Oxford Development Studies](#), 36:4 (2008), 379-407.
- A. Bazbauers, "The Wolfensohn, Wolfowitz & Zoellick Presidencies: Revitalizing the Neoliberal Agenda in the World Bank," [Forum for Development Studies](#) 41:1 (2014), 91-114.
- M. Bienefeld, "Development Theory: A New Hegemonic Ideology?" in A. Bakan & E. MacDonald, [Critical Political Studies: Debates and Dialogues from the Left](#), pp. 208-31 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2004).
- N. Birdsall and F. Fukuyama, "The Post-Washington Consensus: Development after the Crisis," [Foreign Affairs](#), Vol. 90, No. 2 (2011), 45-53.
- T. Biersteker, "The 'Triumph' of Liberal Economic Ideas in the Developing World," in Barbara Stallings (ed.), [Global Problems, Regional Responses](#). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 174-96. (excellent overview)
- G. Bird, "Is There a Beijing Consensus in International Macroeconomic Policy?" [World Development](#) 40:10 (2012), 1933-43.
- P. Blackmon, "Rethinking Poverty through the Eyes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank," [International Studies Review](#) 10 (2008), 170-202.
- H.J. Chang, [Kicking Away the Ladder](#). London: Anthem Press, 2002.
- M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz, "The Future of Industrial Policies in the New Millennium: Toward a Knowledge-Centered Development Agenda," in M. Cimoli, G. Dosi, and J. Stiglitz (eds.), [Industrial Policy and Development. The Political Economy of Capabilities Accumulation](#). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- D. Craig and D. Porter, [Development beyond Neoliberalism? Governance, Poverty Reduction and Political Economy](#) (London: Routledge, 2006).
- G. Diarra & P. Plane, "Assessing the World Bank's Influence on the Good Governance Paradigm," [Oxford Development Studies](#) 42:4 (2014), 473-87.
- D. Eyoh and R. Sandbrook, "Pragmatic Neo-liberalism and Just Development in Africa," in A. Kohli et al. (eds), [States, Markets and Just Growth: Development in the 21st Century](#). Tokyo: UNU Press, 2003.
- B. Fine, "Neither the Washington nor the Post-Washington Consensus," in B. Fine et al. (eds.), [Development Policy in the 21st Century](#), pp. 1-27. London: Routledge, 2001.
- B. Fine, J. Saraswati and D. Tavasci (eds.), [Beyond the Developmental State: Industrial Policy into the 21st Century](#). London: Pluto, 2012.
- A. Gamble, "Neoliberalism." [Capital and Class](#) 75, 2001, pp. 127-34. [EJ]
- C. Gore, "The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries," [World Development](#) 28:5 (2000), pp. 789-804.
- C. Gore, "The Global Recession of 2009 in a Long-Term Development Perspective," [Journal of International Development](#) 22:6 (2010), 714-38.
- A. B. Guven, "The IMF, the World Bank, and Global Economic Crisis: Exploring Paradigm Continuity," [Development & Change](#) 32:10 (2012), 869-98.
- G. Harrison, [Neoliberal Africa: The Impact of global Social Engineering](#) (London: Zed, 2010).
- B. Jessop, "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective." [Antipode](#) 34:3, 2002, pp. 452-72.
- D. S. Jones, [Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics](#). (Princeton Univ. Press, 2012).
- W. Lerner, "Neoliberalism?" [Environment and Planning: Society and Space](#) 21:5, 2003, pp. 509-12.

- J. Lin & Ha-Joon Chang, "Should Industrial Policy in Developing Countries Conform to Comparative Advantage or Defy It? A Debate," Development Policy Review 27:5 (2009), 483-502.
- N. McCulloch & A. Sumner, "Will the Global Financial Crisis Change the Development Paradigm?" IDS Bulletin 40:5 (2009), 101-8. [EJ]
- Z. Onis & F. Senses, "Rethinking the Emerging Post-Washington Consensus," Development and Change, 36:2, 2005, pp. 263-90.
- J. Pender, "From 'Structural Adjustment' to 'Comprehensive Development Framework': Conditionality Transformed?" Third World Quarterly 22:3 (2001), 397-411.
- J. Rapley, Understanding Development (2007), Chapters 4 & 5.
- J.L. Richardson, Contending Liberalisms in World Politics: Ideology and Power. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.
- D. Rodrik, "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion," Journal of Economic Literature, 44:4, 2006, pp. 973-87.
- A. Saad-Filho, "From Washington to Post-Washington Consensus: Neoliberal Agendas for Economic Development," in A. Saad-Filho and D. Johnston (eds.), Neoliberalism, Chapter 12, pp. 113-19.
- R. Wade, Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of the Government in East Asian Industrialization. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- R.H. Wade, "What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of 'Development Space'" in K.P. Gallagher (ed.), Putting Development First – The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions, pp. 80-101. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.
- J. Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in J. Williamson (ed.), Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?, pp. 7-38. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1990.
- J. Williamson, "Democracy and the 'Washington Consensus'," World Development 21:8 (1993), pp. 1329-36.
- World Bank, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1989.
- World Bank, Adjustment Lending Policies for Sustainable Growth. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 1990.
- World Bank, Adjustment in Africa. Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- World Bank, World Development Report 2000: Poverty. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- World Bank, World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development. New York: OUP, 2006.

5. The Socio-economic Critique: What accounts for neoliberalism's weak economic record before the commodity boom (2002-2011)? Have neoliberalism's policies led to growing inequality and, if so, does it matter, if poverty is declining? Can economic growth and social equality proceed in tandem under a neoliberal regime? (Oct. 5)

- *E. Stookhammer, "Branko Milanovic's Long Wave in Income Distribution and Growth." Development and Change 48:4 (2017), 825-33.
- *L. Gruber, "Globalisation with Growth and Equity: Can We Really Have it All?" Third World Quarterly 32:4 (2011), 629-52.
- *Sandbrook, Reinventing the Left, chap. 3.
- *R. Wade, "Income Inequality: Should we Worry about Global Trends?" European Journal of Development Research 23 (2011), 513-20.
- *j. Morten, "Trapped between Tragedies and Miracles: Misunderstanding Africa's Economic Growth." Development Policy Review 34:6 (2016), 911-15.
- *U. D. Wagle, "Are Economic Liberalization and Equality Compatible? Evidence from South Asia," World Development 35:11 (2007), 1836-57.

On Inequality and Poverty:

- D. Alarcón and E. Zepeda, "Economic Reform or Social Development? The Challenges of a Period of Reform in Latin America: Case Study of Mexico," in G. Indart (ed.), Economic Reforms, Growth and Inequality in Latin America, pp. 159-90. Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- O. Altimir, "Income Distribution and Poverty through Crisis and Adjustment," CEPAL Review, 52 (April), 1994, pp. 7-31.
- J. A. Ball, "The Effects of Neoliberal Structural Adjustment on Women's Relative Employment in Latin America," International Journal of Social Economics, Vol. 31, No. 10, 2004, pp. 974-87.
- L. Benería, Gender, Development, and Globalization: Economics as if All People Mattered. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- A. Berry and F. Stewart, "Globalization, Liberalization, and Inequality: Real Causes", Challenge, Vol. 43, No. 1,

2000, pp. 42–92.

- G.A. Cornia, Falling Inequality in Latin America: Policy Changes and Lessons. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- A. Cornwall, "Making a Difference? Gender and Participatory Development," in S. Razavi (ed.), Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism, pp. 197-232. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2002.
- D. Elson, "Male Bias in Structural Adjustment," in H. Afshar and C. Dennis (eds.), Women and Adjustment Policies in the Third World. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- A.K. Fosu, "Growth, Inequality and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: Recent Progress." Oxford Development Studies 43:1 (2014), 144-59.
- J.K. Galbraith et al., "Economic Inequality and Political Power: A Comparative Analysis of Argentina and Brazil," Business and Politics 9:1 (2007).
- L. Haddad et al., "The Gender Dimensions of Economic Adjustment Policies: Potential Interactions and Evidence to Date," World Development, 23:6, June 1995, pp. 881-96.
- D. Johnston, "Poverty and Distribution: Back on the Neoliberal Agenda?" in A. Saad-Filho and D. Jackson (eds.), Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader, Chapter 15, pp. 135-41. London: Pluto Press, 2005.
- H. Kai & S. Hamori, "Globalization, Financial Depth and Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa," Economics Bulletin 29:3 (2009), 2925-37;
- M. Kevane, Women and Development in Africa: How Gender Works. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- L. Lindio-McGovern, "Women and Neoliberal Globalization Inequities and Resistance," Journal of Developing Societies, Vol. 23, No. 1/2, 2007, pp. 285-97.
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November 9: Fall Break

10. The Moderate Social-Democratic Path and the Case of Brazil (Nov 16)

Why was the Workers Party (PT) able to introduce moderate social democracy into highly inegalitarian Brazil, especially since 2007? What impact has the shift had on poverty and inequality? Does the Brazilian case illustrate the central dilemma of this path: that the class reconciliation model of moderate social democracy produces some significant gains, though not enough to mollify militants, yet any move to attack entrenched elite interests and power through class conflict will lead to economic (and probably political) disaster?

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11. The Left Populist Path: Venezuela under Hugo Chávez (1999-2013) (Nov 23)

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12. The radical social-democratic path: The CPI(M) in Kerala, India (Nov 30)

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